

Message Text

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PAGE 01 TOKYO 11957 170647Z

12

ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

SS-15 USIA-15 ACDA-19 IO-13 NIC-01 EB-11 DRC-01 /156 W

----- 110230

R 170603Z SEP 73

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6804

INFO USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMCONGEN HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

CONFIDENTIAL TOKYO 11957

NOFORN

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CH, JA

SUBJECT: CCP TENTH PARTY CONGRESS: GOJ RE-ASSESSMENT

REF: TOKYO 11225

SUMMARY: FURTHER STUDY OF CCP TENTH PARTY CONGRESS BY FONOFF REFUTES QTE TOTAL CHOU VICTORY UNQTE ASSESSMENT ALTHOUGH GOJ EXPECTS CHINA TO FOLLOW CHOU'S POLICIES AND LEADERSHIP IN NEAR FUTURE. CONTRADICTIONS IN CONGRESS CENTERING ON LIN PIAO REPORT, DISSIMILARITY OF WANG HUNG-WEN'S AND CHOU'S REPORTS, AND OMISSION OF COMMENT ON PRC'S ECONOMY LEAD FONOFF TO QUESTION EXTENT OF CHOU'S POWER AND STABILITY OF COALITION HE AND MAO STRUCTURED FOR SUCCESSION. END SUMMARY.

1. FONOFF DEP HEAD CHINA DIVISION OGURA TOLD EMBOFF

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PAGE 02 TOKYO 11957 170647Z

THAT AFTER FURTHER REFLECTION AND DISCUSSION IN FONOFF

THEY DECIDED THAT INITIAL ASSESSMENT (REFTEL) OF CCP TENTH PARTY CONGRESS HAD ASSIGNED TOO COMPLETE A VICTORY TO CHOU EN-LAI. FURTHER STUDY DIVINED STRANGE CONTRADICTIONS IN CONGRESS' REPORTS AND COMPROMISES WHICH CHOU WOULD SEEMINGLY NOT RPT NOT HAVE HAD TO MAKE HAD HE BEEN IN UNQUESTIONED CONTROL.

2. OGURA CITED REPORT ON LIN PIAO AS INTERNALLY CONTRADICTORY AND A STRANGE CONCOCTION FOR TOP LEADERSHIP OF CHINA TO FABRICATE OR WORSE STILL BELIEVE. (OGURA ASKED IF SOVIETS HAD EVER CONFIRMED TO US LIN'S BODY WAS ON PLANE IN MONGOLIA). IN CONTRAST, REPUDIATION OF LIU SHAO-CHI AT NINTH CONGRESS WAS PLAUSIBLE.

3. EVEN MORE PUZZLING TO OGURA ARE GREAT DIFFERENCES IN TONE AND CONTENT OF WANG HUNG-WEN'S AND CHOU'S REPORTS. INDEED WHAT IS WANG'S REAL ROLE? IS HE A SACRIFICE TO YOUTH AND EXTREMISTS TO BE KNOCKED DOWN IN THREE YEARS? OGURA POINTED TO WANG'S (AND IN CONSTITUTION) DICTUM TO QTE GO AGAINST THE TIDE UNQTE AND WORDING LIKE QTE ABSOLUTELY IMPERMISSABLE TO SUPPRESS CRITICISM AND TO RETALIATE UNQTE AND THEN MOST UN-CHOU-LIKE, QTE BY-PASS IMMEDIATE LEADERSHIP AND REPORT DIRECTLY TO HIGHER LEVELS UNQTE, AS ADVOCACIES STRAIGHT FROM CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND AS THREATS TO STABILITY WHICH CHOU SEEKS.

4. OGURA FOUND OMISSION OF SUBSTANTIVE REMARKS ON THE ECONOMY EXTRAORDINARY. CONGRESS WAS UNCTUOUS ABOUT ECONOMY BUT THERE WERE NO PLANS OR EVEN COMMENT ON STATE OF ECONOMY. OMISSION COULD BE RESULT OF POOR ECONOMIC CONDITIONS WHICH QTE GOOD PROSPECTS UNQTE USUALLY CONNOTES BUT MORE LIKELY OMISSION REFLECTS CLASS/STRUCTURE CONFLICT EMBODIED IN LIU SHAO-CHI AFFAIR AND NINTH PARTY CONGRESS. WANG SUBSCRIBED TO NINTH PARTY LINE, SAYING, QTE TRANSFORM THOSE PARTS OF SUPERSTRUCTURE THAT DO NOT CONFORM TO THE SOCIALIST ECONOMIC BASE UNQTE. ACCORDING TO OGURA, CHOU IS GREATLY CONCERNED WITH THE ECONOMY AND KNOWS WHAT MUST BE DONE: FOLLOW LIU SHAO-CHI'S LINE. CHOU'S SILENCE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 TOKYO 11957 170647Z

ON SUBJECT PRESUMABLY MEANS THAT HE DOES NOT RPT NOT HAVE POWER TO EFFECT NECESSARY REFORM.

T. OGURA EMPHASIZED IN CONCLUSION THAT MOST IMPORTANT OBSERVATION ABOUT CONGRESS WAS THAT THIS WAS CONGRESS WHICH MAO AND CHOU EVIDENTLY ASSUME TO BE THEIR LAST. THIS IMPRESSION IS THREADED THROUGHOUT THE CONGRESS. VIEWED IN THIS LIGHT RESULTS ARE EXTRAORDINARY. IF ONE

DELETES FROM POLITBURO OLD GENERALS TUNG PI-WU AND CHU
TE AND LIGHTWEIGHTS LIKE CHEN YUNG-KUEI AND WEI KUO-CHING
WHAT IS LEFT? SOME RADICALS TO BE SURE BUT THEN CHOU
HIMSELF, YEH CHIEN-YING AND LI HSIEN-NIEN, IN SHORT THE
SAME OLD GROUP WHICH HAS BEEN RUNNING CHINA. COMPOSITION
OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE ALSO BEWILDERING. FOR EXAMPLE,
INTERPRETERS NANCY TANG AND LIN LI-YUN ON COMMITTEE BUT
TRADE MINISTER PAI HIANG-KUO IS NOT RPT NOT WHILE HIS
DEPUTY IS.

6. COMMENT: OGURA'S ASSESSMENT DOES NOT RPT NOT CHANGE
FONOFF'S BELIEF THAT CONGRESS BASICALLY CONFIRMED CHOU'S
POLICIES OF PAST TWO YEARS AND PROMISES SIMILAR COURSE
IN NEAR FUTURE. SECOND THOUGHTS ON CONGRESS REPRESENT
DOUBTS ABOUT LONGER TERM STABILITY OF COALITION CHOU HAS
STRUCTURED WITH IMPLICATION THAT FROM QTE MILLIONS OF
SUCCESSORS UNQTE NEW FACES MAY YET APPEAR TO RULE CHINA.
FAILURE OF CONGRESS TO COME TO GRIPS WITH ECONOMIC PROBLEMS
CONCERNS JAPANESE DIRECTLY SINCE HOPES AND PLANNING FOR IN-
CREASED ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH CHINA ARE HAMPERED BY LACK
OF CLARITY IN CHINA'S ECONOMIC FUTURE.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRIME MINISTER, POLITICAL STABILITY, POLITICAL PARTIES, PARTY MEETINGS, PARTY LEADERS, CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, HEAD OF GOVERNMENT
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 17 SEP 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: elyme
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973TOKYO11957
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS INGERSOLL
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: TOKYO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730929/aaaaauxy.tel
Line Count: 137
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: TOKYO 11225
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: elyme
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24 JUL 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <24-Jul-2001 by shawdg>; APPROVED <14-Nov-2001 by elyme>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CCP TENTH PARTY CONGRESS: GOJ RE-ASSESSMENT
TAGS: PFOR, CH, JA, CCP, (CHOU EN-LAI), (MAO TSE-TUNG)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005